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The Arabic language across the ages

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Andalusi influence on Northern Morocco following various centuries of linguistic interference

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Introduction

In studies of Arabic dialectology, in particular those focusing on occidental dialects, we always come across the assertion that the arabization of Maghrib occurred in two distinct chronological stages: the first took place upon the arrival of Arabic-speaking tribes in the 8th century, and it only reached certain regions while the second occurred upon the gradual arrival of oriental Bedouin tribes from Egypt between the 9th and 13th centuries.

This historic event divided the vernacular Arabic of the region into pre-Hilali and Hilali dialects[1], a classification that has been continuously repeated, and we must admit, which only in broad terms accounts for the Maghribian contemporary linguistic situation. In fact, this classification is not as simplistic as it may seem *a priori*. Simon Levy[2], for example, has shown that the interference of diverse factors, many of which are extralinguistic, is what has given shape to the Maghribian linguistic map.

Accordingly, it is important to note that in order to understand the dialectal geographical distribution in the Arabic-speaking world, we must consider the mobility of the population. The presence of some isoglosses in a certain dialect, in many cases, is not the result of linguistic diffusion but of migration and mixing of diverse populations[3]. Consequently, in the occidental Delta of the Nile, for example, the presence of the isogloss *niktib* (sing.)-*niktibu* (pl.), which corresponds to the first person of the imperfective of Maghribian Arabic[4], is not due to linguistic innovation nor to secondary forms created through the contact with the Libyan Bedouins. It is, as explained by P. Behnstedt[5], caused by the massive

1 On the arabization of Maghrib, see Aguadé *et al.* (1998).

2 Cf. Lévy (1998).

3 C. Miller highlights the important role that the mobility of population has played in the development of urban dialects in the Arabic-speaking world, cf. Miller (2003) and (2004).

4 The imperfective patterns in oriental dialects are *afʕal* (singular) and *nafʕal* (plural), and since linguistic frontiers are quite often not clearly defined, we have to refer to transitional areas in some Egyptian zones with intermediate patterns: *afʕal* (sing.) and *nafʕalu* (pl.).

5 See Behnstedt (1998): 87. Nevertheless, M. Woidich does not agree, and he says that this situation is relatively recent, cf. Woidich (1993): 340.

immigration of Maghribians arriving in Egypt since the 10th century in different migration waves.

We can confirm that the arrival of Arabic-speaking tribes to Maghrib in the two distinct chronological periods was not the only instance of the population mobility occurring in the Maghribian region (between the 8th and the 13th centuries) which influenced the process of the arabization of the population. Another important factor was the existence of a second wave of arabization which took place, chronologically speaking, between the two aforementioned, and they were carried out by the Andalusi population throughout the Middle and Modern Ages on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar, leaving their linguistic impact on the Maghribian lands wherever they settled.

It should be noted that the Andalusis started to export the Arab culture to Maghreb when they became of considerable influence, serving as a model. Therefore, there came a time when there was no need to travel East to learn about the Arab culture since the Andalusis themselves produced it.

This Andalusi population was the main transmitter of some of the traits of Arabic spoken in the Iberian Peninsula to the vernacular Arabic spoken on the other side of the Strait, which is rather significant if we take into account the prestige of Andalusi Arabic at the time, not only in the Iberian Peninsula but in North Africa as well. It deals with a variety of vernacular Arabic which existed since the 11th century with a somewhat unified *koine*. Furthermore, it was even raised to the category of literary language[6], making it the best-documented medieval Arabic dialect. As a result, we have been able to understand and describe its grammar and lexicon despite the elevated register typical of the types of documents[7] written in such dialect.

Obviously, the process of arabization in North Africa succeeded after a period of necessary linguistic interaction and adaptation to the former language of the region known as Amazigh, which remained in some regions as the language of communication for a long period of time, especially in the rural areas, though gradually it was given up for a language which was socially more prestigious, such as vernacular Arabic.

6 Cf. Corriente (1998a).

7 The scientific edition or re-edition of the available and relevant sources for the study of the Andalusi dialect has allowed us to gain quite a firm understanding of this language, its principal grammatical features, its dialectal and diachronic differences, and its lexicon. These data, which we will not deal with in this article, can be consulted in Federico Corriente's three following works: *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*, *Árabe andalusí y lenguas romances* and *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, cf. Corriente 1977, 1992 y 1997. About the different available sources on Andalusi Arabic cf. Ferrando (1998a) and Vicente (2003).

1. The arrival of Andalusi Arabic in North Africa

The current Moroccan territory, for obvious geographical reasons, is the region that received more people coming from the Iberian Peninsula at the time of their diaspora to North Africa[8]. Accordingly and due to the existence of commercial and political relationships between the ruling dynasties of both territories, the connections between the societies of Al-Andalus and Maghreb were constant throughout the Middle Ages. Since the 9th century[9], the flux of Andalusi emigrants to Morocco was continuous, and it increased since the 13th century with the expansion of the Christian conquest towards the south of the Iberian Peninsula. As a consequence, the Andalusi influence seems to be the greatest and perhaps the oldest in the most northern region of present day Morocco, particularly since the 10th century and most likely arising from the city of Ceuta. This is due to the fact that Ceuta became a part of the Caliphate of Cordoba, which meant a considerable increase in the population coming from Al-Andalus[10]. The medieval Muslim Ceuta came to be considered as a cultural and religious center of great relevance and prestige, which increased its linguistic and cultural influence on the surrounding regions[11].

Later, there were two important events which affected significantly the movement of the Andalusi population to the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar previous to the great diaspora in the 17th century. Those were the conquest of

8 It is known that the Andalusi people settled in Algeria since the 16th century. However, they were not as numerous as in Morocco, including the groups that arrived as a result of expulsion in the 17th century. It is also believed that they were Arabic-speaking of Valencian origin because they integrated rapidly and because of the quick dissolution of their cultural specificity. Such Andalusi presence in Algeria has led Grand'Henry to justify the existence of interdental phonemes in Cherchell Arabic because of the influence exercised by the Andalusis who settled in the city between the 14th and 16th centuries given that Andalusi Arabic had three interdental phonemes, cf. Grand'Henry (1972): 6-7. The Tunisia's case is rather different. As in other Maghribian regions, Tunisia also received a constant flow of Andalusi emigrants throughout the Middle Ages, which increased during the reign of the *hafsī* dynasty in the 13th century. Nevertheless, the majority who arrived in Tunisia came after the expulsion (1609-1614). It is also believed that the majority came from Castile and Aragon, which means that they were not Arabic-speaking people but Spanish-speaking people. One fact which supports this assertion is the necessity to receive Islamic religious schooling in Spanish. Doctrinal treatises and polemic antichristian works were translated from Arabic or were composed in Spanish. This is just the opposite of what happened to the Moriscos in Granada in the 16th century. They had to translate the Christian doctrine into Arabic to be well understood by the neophytes that continued being Arabic- speaking, cf. Torres 1994.

9 In historical sources, there is evidence of the arrival of an Andalusi group who were essentially insurgents coming from Cordoba. After leading the popular revolts of the *arrabal*(slums) against the emir al-Ḥakam I, they settled in the recently founded city of Fes in 818.

10 See Farhat (1993): 63-64.

11 See Vicente (2007): 24-29.

Granada in 1492 and the war of the Alpujarras in 1570. The first was led by the economic and intellectual élite of Granada, who were essentially Arabic-speaking people whose integration in the Maghribian territory occurred without problems. In fact, they became part of the ruling class quite quickly in Moroccan cities. On the other hand, the second involved the lower and middle classes of the Moriscos population, who were escaping from Christian oppression. They were similar to those of the group who would arrive some years later due to their expulsion in 1609-1614. In conclusion, we can confirm the existence of differences as well as complex relationships among the distinct waves of immigrants[12].

The distinct origin of the Muslim population and most likely the difference in time between the exodus of the first group and the last group provoked diatopic and diachronic differences in the varieties of language used to communicate among those who settled on the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. These vernacular languages consisted of Andalusi Arabic or Romance varieties, transmitting respectively an Andalusi influence and the characteristics of the different Romance varieties spoken in the Iberian Peninsula[13].

The massive arrival of the Moriscos expelled in the 17th century would generate the appearance of semiautonomous regions supported by the Moroccan political instability, such as the case of Tetuan or of that in the "Andalusi republic" in Rabat-Sale, both of which occurred in the twenties of the 17th century[14]. This situation of segregation and semi-independence that the Andalusi population lived in some Moroccan cities was probably crucial to the conservation of certain linguistic features that have endured until today, as we will see further on[15].

12 Golzabes Busto in his works on the Moriscos in Morocco has alluded on several occasions to these differences among the Muslim population who crossed the Strait; see Gozalbes Busto (1992): 183.

13 Another social group that also brought their language along with them were the Andalusi Jews who were expelled in 1492. Their language, a Romance variety known as *ḥakitia* (cf. Benoliel [1977]), did not hinder their linguistic integration in the new society. Therefore, when immigrants arrived from the Iberian Peninsula with their Arabic forgotten, these Sephardic Jews were able to act as interpreters between those arriving and those already living there, cf. Gozalbes Busto (1992): 130. This was not the first time that something like that would occur. In Aragon, the authorities used on occasion the services of Arabic-speaking Jews as interpreters when dealing with Mudejars.

14 Cf. Bounou (1998): 97 and Gozalbes Busto (1992).

15 As for Tunisia, where the Moriscos settled, they spoke mainly in Spanish. Thus, the language that prevailed due to social segregation was Spanish. This is one of the reasons of the specificity of this social group in Tunisian society and of the linguistic influence left on it through this Romance language. In fact, up to the beginning of the 18th century, their descendents continued to preserve a certain attachment to their ancestors' language. Mixed marriages and progressive integration was the cause for Spanish disappearing from the Tunisian linguistic scene in the second half of the 18th century, cf. Vincent (2004): 106.

It is important to note, as it has also been shown, that the Muslims arriving in North Africa not only settled in the cities, but they also settled in the surrounding rural areas, and they have gone almost unnoticed due to the lack of historical sources about them. They also lived in an environment that allowed them to conserve certain linguistic characteristics[16].

Therefore, we consider it feasible that the majority of the Muslims who settled in Moroccan lands at some time in the Middle and Modern Ages were Arabic-speaking people. According to Bernard Vincent[17], the Moriscos from Valencia and Granada, who continued to use a variety of vernacular Arabic as their language of communication[18], settled mainly in the western Maghribian region between Oran and the Atlantic Ocean. Likewise, most of the Moriscos from Aragon and Castile, who gave up the Arabic language[19], settled in the region of Tunisia.

We must be careful not to overgeneralize since other sources show us that the Moriscos who settled in Tetuan arrived from various regions of the Iberian Peninsula, and not only from those places where people spoke Arabic. Bernard Vincent also confirms the existence of Spanish-speaking Moriscos in this city and in some of the far southern Moroccan areas during the first half of the 17th century[20]. Thus, only their presence explains the abundance of Spanish borrowings in Moroccan maritime vocabulary, especially technical terms, such as: *fragata* (Sp) >*fərgāta* "ship", *quilla* (Sp) >*qrīna* "keel", *proa* (Sp) >*prūa* "prow", *popa* (Sp) >*pūpa* "stern", *cubierta* (Sp) > *kōbērta* "deck" or bodega (Sp) > *būdīga* "hold"[21].

2. The Andalusi influence on Moroccan Arabic

The Andalusi dialect and the Moroccan pre-Hilali dialects have a common origin: the vernacular language of the Arabic-speaking conquerors of Al-Andalus and Maghrib. For this reason, both groups of dialects share some features.

16 See Gozalbes Busto (1992): 181, n. 11.

17 Cf. Vincent (2004): 106-107.

18 The Moriscos from Valencia and Granada kept Andalusi Arabic as their vehicular language until the period of the edicts of expulsion in the 17th century, cf. Vicente (2006).

19 In some of the Christian kingdoms where this population lived, it was prohibited to speak Arabic, which accelerated deterioration in both the spoken and written language. This was intensified in the 16th century, and that was why the Mudejars, later Moricos, from Castile and Aragon slowly lost vernacular Arabic as their language for communication, replacing it with the Romance language of the region. It is believed that Arabic was spoken in these regions in private up till the 14th century.

20 On the presence of Spanish in Sale in the 17th and 18th centuries, Maziane states: "Les morisques et les juifs bannis d'Espagne et installés à Salé ont conservé l'usage du castillan", see Maziane (2004): 100; also Joly (1920).

21 Examples cited by L. Maziane, cf. Maziane (2004): 100-101. These terms were collected by L. Brunot in his works on Rabat and Sale, cf. Brunot (1920a) and (1920b).

However, certain social and historical factors, the linguistic phenomenon known as drift, typical of sedentary languages and the various substrata and adstrata of each region caused them to evolve separately producing two different vernacular varieties: Andalusi Arabic, which disappeared in the modern era (17th century) and Moroccan Arabic, which continues to evolve to date.

Now we would like to emphasize those traits which we encounter in some of the Moroccan dialects whose presence seems to be due to an adstratic influence from Andalusi Arabic since they are found precisely in those areas in which some settlement or contact with the population was reported. We must admit that at times it is very difficult to discern whether it is a case of Andalusi influence on Moroccan Arabic, mere coincidence, or parallel processes of the common origin cited[22].

The linguistic influence is difficult to date. We believe that, as we have already stated, it occurred during a very early period. However, for the lack of data on the diachronic study of Maghribian Arabic[23], it is difficult to document accurately.

The study of some Maghribian documents manifested this influence of Andalusi Arabic in the North of Morocco[24]. G. S. Colin affirmed this when he studied the work of Abū Bakr Ibn ʕAlī aṣ-Ṣanhāǧī, better known as al-Bayḏaq, of the 12th century and *al-Maqṣad aš-šarīf w-al-manzaʕ al-laṭīf fī t-taʕrīb b-ṣulaḥāʔ ar-rīf* by ʕAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Bādisī of the 14th century[25].

It is necessary to point out that there was an inverse influence of Moroccan Arabic on Andalusi Arabic, especially during the periods of Almoravids and Almohads, though it was less strong. This triggered the use of the verb *šāf* "he saw" and *žāb* "he carried" in the Andalusi Arabic of Granada [26] as well as the

22 As it may seem evident, this same origin gave birth to several common characteristics between both groups of dialects, the most evident are the patterns of the first person of the imperfective *naffʕal* (singular) and *nfaʕlu* (plural). Nonetheless, our intention is not to draw a comparison of these common traits, which have already been manifested in works like that of I. Ferrando or M. Bencherifa, cf. Ferrando (1998b) and Bencherifa (1994): 10. However, we would like to underline the consequences of Andalusi linguistic influence on Moroccan Arabic.

23 The written sources for the diachronic study of Maghribian Arabic are not less numerous than those related to Oriental Arabic, as Jérôme Lentin has already affirmed, cf. Lentin (2008): 305. The problem is that the majority haven't been studied in a systematic and thorough manner, as was done with the sources coming from the Oriental region.

24 Related to Moroccan Arabic, the oldest texts preserved until today and being useful for the knowledge of diachronic evolution, date back to the 12th century. We do not have information on the language spoken in the region corresponding to present day Morocco and relative to the four centuries that followed the first wave of arabization in the area. As for the later centuries, we have diverse types of documents of different eras that deal with different subjects: historical chronicles, hagiographic works, literary genre works known as *Laḥn al-ʕāmma*, law books, official correspondence of the royal chancellor, etc.

25 Cf. Colin (1930): 105 and ʻAbd el-Ḥaqq el-Bādisī (1926): 17.

26 See Corriente (1998b): 57.

second element of negation, which was rarely used in Andalusi Arabic. F. Corriente explains it as a North African interference in some idiolects of Granada[27]. The existence of the Moroccan term *zərbiyya* "carpet" in a couple of Andalusi texts provides further supporting evidence. These texts are one from the Nazari Granada[28] and the second is the work of Ibn Hišām al-Laxmī written in Ceuta, which would explain the Moroccan interference[29].

As far as the Andalusi linguistic influence is concerned, we can affirm *a priori* that we are dealing with the northern area of the country. We must also consider the internal mobility of the population that triggered a certain linguistic interaction precisely at the time of the birth of Moroccan Arabic[30]. Accordingly, the Andalusi community present in the region from the 9th century[31] spread throughout Moroccan territory leaving their linguistic influence wherever they settled, as was the case of Tangier and Asilah, which were repopulated by people arriving from Tetuan and Anjra at the end of the 17th century after the withdrawal of the Portuguese and the English. These were precisely the two areas in which the Andalusis had arrived some centuries before[32].

Cities known to be affected by the direct arrival of the Andalusi people were Tetuan, Chefchauen, Fes, Rabat-Sale, and the rural region of Jbala. These people came in different periods of migrations. The synchronic description studies carried out by some dialectologists have shown that the arrival of this population, wherever they settled, had consequences from a linguistic point of view[33]. For example, in Rabat, according to Leila Messaoudi, the traditional dialect of the city (i.e., the pre-Hilali city dialect) is on the verge of extinction, if not already extinct. We can only find it spoken by the elderly and those belonging to families with Andalusi origins.

According to Messaoudi, it is relatively easy to identify these families of Rabat (who lived in a very close-knit environment or in an almost semi- segregated fashion until recently[34]) thanks to their family names. These circumstances could facilitate the linguistic conservatism that characterizes them. We find a similar

27 Cf. Corriente (1992): 121.

28 Cf. Seco (1955).

29 Other typical Moroccan words that also appear in this work are *msīd* "mosque and Quran school" and *məšmāš* "apricots". Cf. Ibn Hišām al-Lajmī (1990).

30 Cf. Lévy (1998): 17.

31 See n. 9.

32 Cf. Lévy (1998): 12. According to Moscoso, people arriving from Jbala repopulated the present day Larache after the Spanish left at the end of the 17th century, and this is precisely the reason that we find *žəbli* dialect influence on the current dialect of Larache, cf. Moscoso (2003): 14.

33 See Vicente (2009), Moscoso (2003), Messaoudi (1998) and Vicente (2000).

34 Cf. Messaoudi (1998): 157-158.

situation in Tetuan where the oldest traits (possibly of Andalusi) are restricted to a few families and in many occasions to only one sociolect, that of the elderly women[35]. This is due to segregation by genre in this society and the role adopted by these women as guardians of a tradition where the aspects related to language should be included[36].

Interestingly, this Andalusi influence was not limited to the northern area of present day Morocco. S. Lévy says it reached the valley of Dra or the Tafilalt[37], where the Judeo-Arabic dialect spoken by the Jewish community have preserved traits belonging to an earlier stage of the language evolution. This was also due to the social isolation of this minority. Thus, in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tafilalt, Moshe Bar-Asher found the diminutive *(ä)llu / (ä)lla* in the terms: *miyällu* "a little water", *duyällu* "a small amount of medicine", *suyälla* "a little dress." This has been identified with the Latin diminutive in *ellus*, very frequent in the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula. It may have arrived in southern lands only through Andalusi Arabic. In this dialect, we can also find the term *battixālla* "a little melon"[38].

Moreover, the south could be influenced by an élite Andalusi community, which settled in Marrakech, particularly in the Almohad era. They were attracted by the glamour of the imperial capital[39]. Nevertheless, we assume that the Andalusi influence (if it ever really existed there) disappeared practically with the arrival of Hilali Arabic tribes along with their Bedouin dialects, as well as the Berber repopulation later[40].

Accordingly, the dialectologists have tried to attribute some pre-Hilali traits to the Andalusi influence in North Africa, although in some cases they have also posed theories against this assumption since it seems to be a difficult path to follow.

One of these traits is the absence of the distinction in gender in the 2nd person singular, in the verb as well as in the pronoun. This trait distinguishes Andalusi Arabic and some other Maghribian dialects from the rest of the neo-Arabic[41]. In the

35 Cf. Vicente (2009): 194.

36 According to E. Rosander, the Muslim women carry out an important function, supporting traditions, and with that they maintain their ethnic identity and religion. (cf. Rosander [2004]: 67).

37 Cf. Lévy (1998): 13.

38 See Corriente (1997): 55. Another suffix which may have come from Romance to Moroccan through Andalusi Arabic was *–əš*, although this has only been found in northern dialects, see Vicente (2000): 117.

39 Cf. Lévy (1998): 22-23.

40 Many times motivated by demographic crisis that occurred after plagues and famine, cf. Lévy (1998): 18.

41 Cf. Heath (2002): 220ff., for a detailed distribution of the verbal endings in Moroccan dialects.

žəbli dialects of Anjra and Chauen, we find the imperative *ktəb* "write" for both genders. In the perfective, the frequent form is *ktəb* "you wrote" (masculine and feminine), and the frequent pronoun for masculine and feminine is *nṭīna* "tú"[42]. Such absence of gender distinction can be found in other pre-Hilali dialects, such as in the traditional dialect of Rabat[43], the dialect of Tangier[44] and Judeo-Arabic dialects (e.g., Tafilalt)[45]. Nevertheless, this trait can also be explained by a possible influence from the Berber substratum[46], whose verb system is characterized by the absence of gender distinction in the second person singular[47]. In this second hypothesis, the phenomena may have spread thorough analogy from the verb system to the pronominal[48].

Another example could be the use of the preverb of the imperfective in the Moroccan dialects significantly more than in the dialects from Algeria and Tunisia. The form *kā-* has been seen as Andalusi influence on Moroccan Arabic. F. Corriente and I. Ferrando[49] have considered it as the fossilized form of *kán* with a diachronic evolution that spurred "a semantic shift from an imperfect or conditional marker to a present tense"[50].

According to Corriente, we could be dealing with a form brought by Arabs from Yemen concretely of the verb "to be" in Himyaritic, which can be traced even in modern Yemeni Arabic[51]. If this is true, we continue to affirm the role of the Andalusi people in the arrival of this preverb to Moroccan Arabic since the existence of traits from Yemeni Arabic are known in the Arabic of the Iberian Peninsula[52]. Thus, supposing the Maʕqil Arabic tribes had preserved their former vernacular languages for several centuries, they settled in the southern and eastern

42 Cf. Vicente (2000): 61-64 and 136, and Moscoso (2003): 63-65 y 160.

43 Cf. Messaoudi (1998): 160.

44 Cf. Iraqi-Sinaceur (1998): 137.

45 Cf. Lévy (1995): 56-57.

46 Cf. Laoust (1927): 183.

47 Precisely, this trait is found in other Maghribian dialects, which also represents the influence of the Berber substratum, as in Djidjelli and Algeria, cf. Marçais (1952): 155, 435 and 449.

48 It is a trait that has spread through other Moroccan regions where the distinction of gender is not systematic. Thus, Taine-Cheikh (2006-2007): 173, "les autres parlers ne font plus systématiquement la distinction de genre à la 2e sg., si ce n'est à l'impératif: ni les parlers de sédentaires, ni le parler des Z'îr ou celui de Casablanca classés pourtant comme 'hilaliens'".

49 See Corriente (1977): 140-141 and Ferrando (1995-1996).

50 Nevertheless, there are other theories on the origin of this preverb, see Aguadé (1996): 199, Ferrando (1995-1996): 126-141.

51 Cf. Corriente (2003): 154-155.

52 The intervention of Yemeni tribes in the conquest of al-Andalus in the 8th century as well as the Maghrib some centuries later with the arrival of the Banū Maʕqil in the 13th century is well known. On the presence of Yemeni traits in Andalusi Arabic, cf. Corriente (1989).

regions of Morocco[53] which would have made it difficult for them to exercise an influence on the dialects spoken in the north of the country, where we mostly find the preverb *kā-* before its spread throughout the country as a consequence of the dialectal levelling and the development of a koineization / homogenization process.

We conclude this section by citing another possible example of the existence of an indefinite article of Romance origin in Andalusi Arabic. The form *wáḥ(i)d al-* existed in the Arabic of the Iberian Peninsula. This form is *wāḥəd əl-* in Moroccan Arabic[54]. Currently, it has spread throughout the country, and it is not only a characteristic of pre-Hilali dialects with Andalusi adstratum.

3. The Anjra region: a conservative rural dialect

We have found more evidence that this influence existed, and some Andalusi traits reached North African Arabic in the north-western region known as Jbala, a transit area similar to the corridor of Taza. It was arabized at a very early stage due to its geographical location, probably at the time of the conquest of Al-Andalus by the first Idrisids[55].

The Arabic variety of this region belongs to the pre-Hilali and rural group of dialects. According to Colin's classification[56], dialects of the rural and mountainous regions of northern Morocco can be divided into two groups: the Northern, which are thought to be the most ancient, and the Southern.

Considering that some linguistic characteristics are only found in Northern dialects (e.g., those spoken in Anjra and Chefchaouen) and that they do not occur in other dialects of the south of this region (the dialects of Ouargha and Taza[57]), nor in the rest of Morocco, we can presume that these characteristics may be the origin of the differences found by Colin in the mid-twentieth century between the north and the south of Jbala, which continue to exist today, although they are gradually declining owing to the influence of the general linguistic evolution taking place in Morocco itself under the impact of migration and urbanization.

These traits can be found at the phonetic level as well as at the morphological level. We will cite some examples:

53 On the origin of these tribes, their arrival to Maghrib and the regions where they settled, cf. Marçais (1913): 364ff.

54 Cf. Corriente (1992): 83.

55 Cf. Lévy (1998): 12.

56 Cf. Colin (1945): 226-227.

57 The synchronic descriptions of these dialects are found in Lévi-Provençal (1922) and Colin (1921).

3.1. Phonetics

The realization of the phoneme /ḍ/ as occlusive, dental, voiced, and velarized can be considered as an Andalusi influence on the dialect of Anjra, since the common trait in all the sedentary and northern rural Moroccan dialects is the devoicing in [t], as is the case of the dialects of Chefchauen, Ouargha, Taza, Tetuan and Tangier[58].

Until now, the voiced pronunciation was only found in Anjra and among the elderly women of Ceuta[59], who principally come from that same rural Moroccan area. Examples are *mrīṭa* (form 1= northern Moroccan) and *mrīḍa* (form 2 = Anjra and femenine sociolect from Ceuta) "ill", *băyṭa* (form 1) and *băyḍa* (form 2) "egg", *ṭăhri* (form 1) and *ḍăhri* (form 2) "my back", *ġlīṭa* (form 1) and *ġlīḍa* (form 2) "fat".

This can be due to an Andalusi influence on the Anjra region. In Andalusi Arabic, /ḍ/ did not exist as a phoneme of full status, although some indications seem to show that it did exist in specific sociolects, and it usually was pronounced as /ḍ/ spirant, interdental, voiced, velarized[60]. In this manner, the pronunciation of the voiced occlusive in this region can be considered as representing the influence of the three Andalusi interdental phonemes that arrived at some time in North Africa. After that, owing to the linguistic evolution, this interdental phoneme will be pronounced as its corresponding occlusive phoneme /ḍ/. In the rest of the region, the overall devoicing of /ḍ/ > [ṭ] has been considered as an influence from the Berber substratum[61].

The realization of the affricate phoneme /ǧ/ as a voiced pospalatal occlusive /g/ when it is in contact with sibilants is also characteristic of northern Morocco: *gnāza* "funeral", *s-sēmāna lli gāzət* "last week". This phonetic phenomenon is probably due to an influence from Yemeni Arabic which arrived to the North of Morocco through Andalusi Arabic, although it disappeared due to the process of standardization that occurred in this language[62].

58 Cf. Moscoso (2003): 40, Lévi-Provençal (1922): 20, Colin (1921): 40, Vicente (2009): 196 and Iraqi-Sinaceur (1998): 134.

59 Cf. Vicente (2007): 122.

60 Cf. Corriente (1992): 47-51. It has been asserted that the passage of the interdental to the unvoiced occlusive /ṭ/ in Andalusi Arabic was something, for Bencherifa, typical of the North Africans coming from al-Andalus, cf. Bencherifa (1971-1975): 1374 (cited by Corriente [1992]: 51).

61 According to S. Lévy, this unvoicelessness was inherent to pre-Hilali dialects with Berber substratum: *ṭow* "light" (Jbala), *mrəṭ* "sick" (Sefrou), *ṭrəb* "he has beaten" (Judeo-Arabic Tafilalt), *moṭaʕ* "place" (Judeo-Arabic Fes).

62 Cf. Corriente (1992): 53.

In Morocco, the pronunciation /g/ is characteristic of the pre-Hilali dialects, that is to say, those closest to Andalusi Arabic, while due to a regressive dissimilation, /ǧ/ is pronounced /d/ in contact with the sibilant and fricative phonemes in other Moroccan dialects (e.g., *dāz, ydūz*"to pass[63]).

3.2 Morphology

In the perfective, we note the presence of the ending *-ṭŭm* for the second person plural. This is one of the characteristics of Andalusi Arabic which can be also found in the *jebli* dialect of Anjra. Some examples are *šŭfṭŭm* "you have seen," *kŭlṭŭm* "you have eaten" *qrīṭŭm* "you have studied," *xrəžṭŭm* "you have gone out"[64].

This ending existed in Andalusi Arabic for a long period, and it seems to have survived the koineization of the language. The data gathered by Carmen Barceló corresponding to the 13th – 17th centuries on Valencian Moriscos show that this ending still existed at that time[65].

Therefore, probably because of this prolonged survival in Al-Andalus, the same characteristic has been found in northern Morocco. Constant contact with the other side of the Strait may have caused it to spread. This feature has survived until the present day in the dialect of Anjra, which is a very conservative dialect[66].

The ending *-ṭŭm* also appears in some oriental dialects. However, it has a different origin. Its presence is due to synchronic rather than, as in the case we are dealing with, diachronic reasons[67].

In the imperfective, in defective-type verbs, there is an alternation of the terminations *-īw* ~ *-u* for the first, second and third person plural. Examples are *nəmšu/nəmšīw* "we go", *yxallu/yxallīw* "they leave", *tġannīw/tġannu* "you sing"[68].

The same alternation already existed in Andalusi Arabic: *yžu/yažīw* "they come", *nixallu* "we leave", *tastaġniw* "you sing"[69].

The morpheme *–u* is typical of the Bedouin-type dialects, although there are several exceptions, and for this reason we do not find it in the dialects spoken near Anjra. These dialects are usually of the sedentary-type and the ending of the verb

63 These are the forms that appear in the dialect of Skūra in the south of Morocco; cf. Aguadé–Elyaacoubi (1995): 29.

64 Cf. Vicente (2000): 62.

65 Cf. Barceló (1984): 191.

66 Cf. Vicente (2000): 62.

67 It appears, for instance, in verbs and personal pronouns in some variants of Egyptian dialects. The forms with *–m* are the socially lower variants. Cf. Woidich (2006): 330.

68 Cf. Vicente (2000): 72.

69 Cf. Corriente (1977): 119.

forms in plural is the diphthong *-īw*. This alternation does not exist in other neighbouring rural dialects, such as Taza, Ouargha and Chauen.

In the imperative, we find the prosthetic vowel *ā-*, except in geminate-type verbs {1v22}, ex.: *ʕăḍḍ* "él ha mordido", and hollow-type verbs {1ā2}, ex.: *šāf* "él vio". Examples are *āʕməl!* "do!", *āmši* "go!", *āskŭṭ!* "be quiet!", *ākṭəb* "write!", *ākətbu* "write (pl.)!", *āsəktu* "keep silent! (pl.)"[70].

This feature also appears in another dialect of the north of Jbala, the Chefchaouen dialect. However, it is not found in the southern dialects of this region[71]. The same characteristic exists in Andalusi Arabic where it could be considered as a Yemeni characteristic[72].

According to F. Corriente[73], taking into account that old Epigraphic South Arabian consisted only of consonantal script, we do not know its vocalization in similar cases, and we cannot state with certainty the origin. However, the fact that in modern *Geʕez* language the same prosthetic vowel appears in identical instances probably indicates that this feature already existed in Epigraphic South Arabian language, being a Yemeni feature in Andalusi Arabic.

In view of the fact that in the north of Jbala, the presence of the vowel *ā-*, cannot be attributed to the Berber substratum[74], we can, therefore, accept the Yemeni influence through Andalusi Arabic.

Where nominal morphology is concerned, we can make reference to the relative pronoun *d*, as in *kāyən d ʕandu l-flūs* "there is who has money", which existed in Andalusi Arabic in the forms *addí o iddí* and *aḏḏí o iḏḏí*[75] where we seem to be dealing with a trait of Yemeni origin still present today in the form *ḏī* in the southeast and extreme north of Yemen[76]. And as in the prior example, its appearance in the northern dialects of Jbala, like those of Anjra and Chauen[77], seems to be due to some influence from Yemeni Arabic through Andalusi Arabic[78].

70 Cf. Vicente (2000): 64.

71 Cf. Moscoso (2003): 65.

72 Cf. Corriente (1977): 100.

73 Cf. Corriente (1989): 95-96.

74 The imperative is formed by the suffixes *-em, -m* (masc.) and *-ent* (fem.) in *Tarifit*, the Berber dialect spoken in Rif area and close to Anjra, cf. Laoust (1927): 183.

75 See Corriente (1977): 99, n. 147.

76 Cf. Behnstedt (2008): 116.

77 Cf. Vicente (2000): 142, Moscoso (2003): 168-169. It is not only here. This relative also exists in other pre-Hilali dialects in Morocco, such as the Judeo-Arabic from Sefrou, cf. Stillman (1988): 38-39.

78 Corriente has found a connection with the Epigraphic South Arabian demonstrative *ḏn*, and its Qatabanian relative allomorph *ḏm*. cf. Corriente (2003): 157.

3.3 Lexical

We must realize that in a situation of interaction of languages, it is at the lexical level where the majority of the cases of interference are produced. For this reason, we often find the presence of semantic borrowings in Moroccan Arabic that may originate from Andalusi Arabic or from Romance through Andalusi Arabic[79].

The following words serve as examples:

—*bĭndāyr* "drum", borrowed from Andalusi where we find *pandáir* pl. *panádir* or *bandayr* pl. *banādir*, coming from Latin and finally from Greek[80].

—*tšărmīla* "sauces for marinating or preparing meat". According to Corriente, this word appears in Andalusi as *š.rmūlah* where it is a hybrid between a Romance form and a Latin one[81].

Other semantic borrowings are those which come from Aramaic or from Yemeni Arabic (e.g., *dqum* "mouth"). Given that they usually existed only in northern dialects, we think that they arrived to Moroccan Arabic through Andalusi Arabic. However, we cannot definitively confirm it[82].

As is known, there are other semantic borrowings of Spanish origin coming from the Iberian Peninsula which arrived later. Such influence on Moroccan Arabic may have existed since the arrival of Spanish-speaking Moriscos[83] until today[84]. The Spanish Protectorate in the north of Morocco represents the most decisive time of adstratic influence of Spanish on vernacular Arabic in northern Morocco. Tetuan was the administration capital, making Spanish the official language of administration in the entire region. Spanish became the second language of a numerous native population.

Conclusion

The linguistic traits analyzed prove the existence of a strong Andalusi adstratum in these pre-Hilali and northern Moroccan dialects. These traits have survived only in the dialects which have undergone, to a lesser extent, dialectal interaction and the consequential linguistic levelling.

79 See Elyaacoubi (1996).

80 Cf. Corriente (1997): 67.

81 Cf. Corriente (1997): 281.

82 See Behnstedt (2005).

83 One example is the word *sṭīṭu* "small and little". This typical word of the north of Morocco comes from the Spanish *chiquito* "tiny", probably carried by the Moriscos in their diaspora across the Strait. See Vicente (2000): 152, n. 171.

84 Various studies have been done on the Hispanicisms in Moroccan Arabic; see Benyahia–Aguadé (1987), Heath (1989), Lévy (1992) and (1995), Amzid (1997).

Therefore, we can confirm that the Andalusi influence that we find in Moroccan Arabic, specifically in the pre-Hilali Arabic, was not only due to the arrival of the Moriscos in the 15th to the 17th centuries. This can be proven with linguistic data as well as with data taken from archaeological research, as is confirmed by Patrice Cassier[85], who has demonstrated the ancient existence of a socio-cultural continuum across both sides of the occidental Mediterranean.

The prestige that the Andalusi Arabic achieved in North Africa for several centuries is a situation that disappeared when the Maghribian linguistic scene began to unfold in the 20th century. This change was due in part to the process of ruralisation and bedouinisation of languages. In other cases, it was due to the levelling of certain localisms in favour of other more neutral traits. The population mobility was probably the main reason for this[86].

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85 Cf. Cressier (1998).

86 See Miller *et al.* (2007).

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